

Kangra District.]

CHAP. III.—THE PEOPLE

95

gated and therefore cultivated is now lying waste. There is not much enterprise among the Spiti people, and their trade has not been increasing as in Láhau.

In Láhau the women outnumber the men in the proportion of 107 to 100, so far as the Census figures of 1881 show. But if the number of Láhauis absent from Láhau at the time of the Census be considered, the excess of women will not be so great; for it is customary to leave the old and infirm women behind in Láhau when the rest of the family goes to Kúlu for the winter. In Spiti the figures show women to men in the proportion of 111 to 100. But this does not represent the normal state of the population, as many males were absent on a pilgrimage to Ráwalair in Mandi at the time of the Census.

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Social and Religious Life.

Proportion of the sexes.

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SECTION B.—SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE.

The houses in Láhau and Spiti are very different in appearance from those of Kúlu or Kángra; they are two and sometimes three storeys high with flat roofs; the lower storey is occupied by the cattle, horses, and sheep and goats; the upper one contains the rooms lived in by the family. In Spiti these rooms are commonly three in number, and surround on three sides an open court; one of them is the family chapel, which is ordinarily very well furnished with images, large prayer cylinders, religious pictures, books, and sacramental vessels; the others are good-sized rooms lighted by small windows hung with wooden shutters, the largest is about 20 feet square, and has a roof supported by a double row of upright posts. At the corners of the house are flag-staffs consisting of poles from which hang black *yaks'* tails. The walls are white-washed inside and out, and neatly topped with a coping of fagots. In Láhau the houses are smaller, and less care and taste are expended in building and adorning them. Ordinarily the upper storey consists of an interior or winter room, an outer or summer room, and a verandah room open on the fourth side. In this verandah stands the loom; inside will be found large corn-chests made of slate* set in wooden frames, large stone bowls from Iskárdo, iron cauldrons, and cooking pots, an iron tripod or pot stand, some wooden dishes, and a few earthen pots from Kúlu. Many pack-saddles for sheep and goats are strewn about, and a few blankets and thick sheep-skin coats hang on the walls. Small holes in the wall serve the purpose both of windows and chimneys: bed-steads are unknown. Grass is stacked on the roof, and wood for fuel inside. This is a fair description of a house in the upper valleys of Láhau; in the lower villages the rooms are larger and better ventilated. In Gárá many of the houses are built together in one block with connecting passages, by which communication is kept up in the winter without going out, which, when the snow is very deep, may be scarcely possible. Making thread is the chief occupation in winter; on fine days the loom is brought out, and some weaving done. Both men and women work the loom in

Houses and furniture.

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* Very fine slate in large slabs is to be had in Láhau; the quarry is in Ghúsa on the mid-Himalayan range.

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CHAP. IV.—PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION.

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The Láhaulis keep only a few sheep and goats, as the snow lies too long and too deep in the winter for the flocks to live out of doors as they do in Ladákh. For a very long time, therefore, the upper ends of the main valleys, which are uninhabited, and the grounds high above the villages in the inhabited parts, have been utilized by the Gaddí shepherds of Kángra and Chamba, and the Koli shepherds of Kúlu. The snow begins to disappear in these places about the beginning of June; the shepherds do not ordinarily enter Láhaul before the end of that month, and they leave it again early in September, by which time the frost is beginning to be biting, and the rainy season in the outer Himalayan country has come to an end. In the fine dry climate in Láhaul the sheep escape the foot rot and other diseases which constantly attack flocks kept during the rains on the southern slopes of the outer Himalayas. The sheep arrive wretchedly thin, but by the time they are ready to leave, are in splendid condition. A short fine grass of a dull bluish-green colour, called *niru*, is their favourite food; *mat* and *mordr* are names of other good kinds of grasses. The goats depend very much on the leaves and twigs of the birch and bush willow. The Gaddí shepherds are much more careful and energetic shepherds than the Kolis; they may be seen herding their goats on the face of tremendous precipices; with one woollen coat and a blanket they sleep out exposed to an icy wind, and take no harm; sometimes, however, the cold drives them to creep into the huddled-up flocks and pass the night with two or three sheep on top of them for a coverlid. Their sheep are reputed strong and hardy above those of any other shepherds. People as far away as the Bhotia traders of Kumáon, buy a great many every year at high prices as beasts of burden for the trade over the great snowy range between Kumáon and Tibet. These grazing grounds or sheep-runs of foreign shepherds in Láhaul are called *dhárs* or *bars* or *nigáhrs*. A *dhár* or *bar* is often sub-divided into several *vads*, each *vad* containing enough ground to graze one full flock or *khanddh* of sheep and goats. Each *dhár* has its more or less precisely fixed boundaries, and the *waris* or title to it, is understood to have originated in a grant from a Rája of Kúlu, or a Thákur of Láhaul. Among the Gaddís some transfers by gift or sale appear to have taken place, and in several cases the original family which obtained the grant has long ceased to use the *dhár*; but in recognition of its old title the shepherd now in possession has to halt a day on the journey back and let his sheep manure the fields of the original owner, with whose permission his occupation commenced. Whether the original owner could now turn out an old occupant of this kind is a doubtful question. The grey-beards seem to think that he could send up any number of his own sheep, but could not put in a third person to the detriment of the old occupant. The title of the Koli shepherds to their *dhárs* is the same as that by which they hold their *nigáhrs* in Kúlu. In some few instances a *dhár* was granted to a *wasir*, or person of influence, as a personal favour; but, as a general rule, they seem to have been given to the men of certain hamlets or *pádás* collectively, though perhaps the *patta* or deed of grant contained only one man's name. There are many fine runs in the uninhabited part of the Chandra valley above *purana* Koksar, which,

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Live-Stock. 132

Dhár or sheep-
runs of Gaddí and
Koli shepherds
in Láhaul.

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the result of greater intercourse with the world, for their geographical position made them the principal carriers between India and Tibet. Many of them leave their homes for the winter, which they spend in Kulu or in Simla, engaging themselves as labourers, and that even when they are in fair circumstances. They bring back money, but it is not spent on luxuries. Their food, however, has improved, more meat being eaten now than before. The men engage for the most part in trade, while the women attend to the cultivation, carry loads, and do most of the hard work in Láhau itself.

The handicraftsmen of Spiti are the cleverest of the Kulu subdivision. Captain Harcourt mentions their steel bits, buckles and stirrups as specially worthy of note; and Mr. Louis Dane remarks that the puzzle locks made by the Spiti blacksmiths are very ingenious. The Spiti cloth, too, is particularly good. It is of several descriptions. The strongest and thickest is made in narrow lengths furled or flushed on one side, and is very durable and wonderfully cheap. A second variety is rather fine and more expensive, while a third, woven from goat's-hair, is in much demand among European residents in Kulu. Moorcroft records that "2,752 pieces of cloth are annually fabricated in Spiti, of which 1,600 are used in home consumption, and the rest exported to the extent of 13,140 yards." This was written in 1820, but Captain Harcourt imagines "that the manufacture has not at all retrograded. Shoes," he continues, "are imported into both Spiti and Láhau from the plains, but winter boots are made in Spiti. Sheep-skins with the wool on are prepared very skilfully both in Spiti and Láhau."

The Láhaulis are the most enterprising traders of the Kulu subdivision. Collecting their merchandise from Ladakh and the countries of Central Asia, they pass annually in large numbers towards the close of the summer into Kulu, driving before them flocks of sheep and goats, on the backs of which their wares are packed. The principal items of their trade are borax, *pashm*, or shawl-wool, raw and worked into cloth (*pattu*). These they sell in Kulu, buying for the return journey in the spring, brass and copper vessels, sugar, wheat, rice, tobacco, dried apricots from Balti, pepper, ginger, turmeric, garlic, and onions. The winter they spend in Kulu. Mr. Lyall remarks that "at the present day the Láhaulis trade almost entirely with the people of Ráphá in Ladakh and Rudokh in Tibet. Borax, *pashm* and wool are the principal imports; they say they find the trade with Leh and countries beyond unprofitable. In the summer large flocks of sheep from Ráphá of the big breed called Haniá are driven to Darcha, in Láhau, and there shorn; the Láhaulis meet the shepherds there, and exchange grain, &c., for wool at certain customary rates of barter."

The people of Spiti are less enterprising, and dislike leaving their valley. Occasionally, however, parties of men set off for Ladakh, Basáhir and Kulu, and there dispose of their wares, receiving payment either in money or kind. The exports are cereals, manufactured cloth, half-bred *yaks* and *yak's* tails. The imports are salt, madder, tobacco, tea from Lhási, sheep's wool, turquoises, amber, waterpails

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Commerce, 439
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CHAPTER V.

ADMINISTRATION.

SECTION B.—LAND AND LAND REVENUE.

The whole of Láhaul appears to have been at one time portioned out among a few petty barons or Thákurs, who were the lords of whom the *yul/sa* or villagers held their holdings. Four of these baronial families have survived up to the present day, two in full and two in partial possession of their estates; the rest are said to have been gradually extirpated by the Rájás of Kúlu. Under the Rájás the Thákurs were allowed to exist supreme in their own estates, but paid a heavy annual tribute or *asasardas* for them in the shape of a certain number of ponies, pieces of cloth, &c. In the rest of the country, i.e. the *khalas* or royal *kothís*, the Rája took the place of the extinct Thákurs, and managed them through an official with the rank of a *wasir*. The Thákurs, with a following of their tenants, and one man for each holding in the royal *kothís*, were compelled to attend the Rája at his capital Sultánpur for the six winter months of the year, and do any service, menial or military, which might be committed to them. This was the origin of the present annual emigration of a very large part of the Láhaul population to their winter quarters in Akhára, a suburb of Sultánpur. The *tal* or land-revenue of Láhaul was taken in fixed items of cash, grain, and cloth, levied at equal rates on all the *jeolas* in each *kothá*. This was the rule, but sometimes some small difference of rate prevailed between different villages with regard to difference of soil or water-supply. Another item of revenue was the *chetrá* or colts; a filly belonged to the owner of the mare, but all colts born in Láhaul went to the Rája in *khalas*, and to the Thákur in *jágr kothís*.

When the Sikhs ousted the Rája of Kúlu, they collected the cash and grain from the *khalas kothís*, and the *asasardas* from the Thákurs as before; but on the pretence that they did not demand any service of either Thákur or landholder, they imposed an additional cess, under the name of *betangna* of rupees six per *jeola* on every holding, whether in the *khalas* or the *jágr kothís*. When three years later we took over the country from the Sikhs, we found it nominally assessed at Ra. 5,000, which included grazing dues on foreign sheep and fines, besides land-revenue. This was reduced to Ra. 4,200 at once, next year to Ra. 3,200, and at Regular Settlement to Ra. 2,150, of which Ra. 240 were tribute payable by the Thákurs, and Ra. 1,910 regular land-revenue. When, however, this last sum came to be distributed by the people themselves over the *jeolas* of the *khalas kothís*, it proved to be in excess of the old fixed cash assessment, and the landholders were not apparently informed that the old grain assessment, and other items were abolished. They, therefore, argued among themselves that the excess

Chapter V, B.
Land and Land
Revenue.

Nature of rent or
land-tax under the
Rája in Láhaul.

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Sikh revenue admin-
istration, and ar-
rangements made at
Summary and Re-
gular Settlements
(Láhaul).

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Beyond the High Himalayas

563 sider Lahulis inferior. A Tibetan can take a Lahuli woman for his
 582 wife. But a Tibetan girl is not encouraged to marry a Lahuli man.
 The Lahuli man has indeed an unhappy position. The women on
 the south side of Rothang Pass do not covet him, partly because
 of his exploitation of his womenfolk, partly because there is a
 greater variety of food in Kulu than in Lahul. The women on the
 Tibetan side of the Himalayas do not want the Lahuli man be-
 cause he is "inferior." Lahul is an in-between place—one from
 which men and women both want to escape. Perhaps that is one
 583 reason for its sparse population. Perhaps that is one reason why
 the men have such sad and plaintive voices when they sing their
 folk songs.

The one I best remember—one sung for us by five male vil-
 lagers of Jispa, the next village beyond Khyelang—is about the girl
 Angmo.

*Angmo used to live with her parents when a child.
 When she grew up she fell in love with a boy.
 They married happily.
 After marriage the girl left Lahul
 And went and lived with her husband,
 Forsaking her parents and brothers and sisters.**

- 423 These Lahuli folk have an in-between status in another respect.
 • 221 While there are a few landed estates, the country is mostly popu-
 231 lated by small farmers. The few Lahulis who own sheep and
 goats go north in the summer and south in the winter. The sheep
 one sees there in summer months come up from the Kangra for a
 few months' grazing in the high basins.
 132 The rainfall in Lahul averages about twenty-three inches
 annually. May, June, and July are lush months. By August the
 ground is dried out and the grain is turning brown. By September
 the land is barren and dusty. October sees the passes clogged
 with snow. Lahul is then isolated until summer. November or

*See page 333, category 116

Sheep Are the Goods Trains

below, snipping every green morsel as it dropped down to Patseo. 492

Most lakes in Tibet are salt; great crusts of it can be dug 438
up from the shores. It is this coarse, unrefined salt that the sheep
caravans bring down. The bags are of coarse wool sewn at the
top with heavy twine. They are held on the sheep with a light
cinch and a small rope that functions as a breast collar. These
bags are seldom taken from the sheep in transit. The designation 804
of an animal's load in this part of the world is a *khal*, and the
khal of a sheep is 32 pounds. The *khal* of a horse is 128 pounds;
the *khal* of a yak, 188 pounds. These sheep I saw carried per-
haps twenty pounds apiece.

Sheep trains also bring wool down from Tibet. For many years 492
Lahuli men have gone north in the late spring with sheep that 438
were sometimes loaded with merchandise, sometimes not. They 221 •
grazed as they went, and when they reached Tibet they bartered
their merchandise or brought produce for cash; then, loading
the wool in tiny bales on their sheep, they made the long return
trip to Patseo.

The sheep and goats I saw coming down from the north with 492
salt were unpacked at Patseo, the bags being piled in walls to 439
form small corrals where the sheep would bed down at night.
The sheep caravan had more than salt to offer. The sheep and
goats brought wool, too, the wool on their backs; and the shear-
ing started shortly after the caravan was unpacked.

The sheep caravan had not yet been unloaded before a train of
twenty mules came swinging down the canyon. These were
powerful, rangy animals carrying huge bales. Some of the bales
contained wool from Sinkiang *via* Tibet; some, tea from China.
A few of the mules packed salt and borax; a few, dried bundles
of wild onion (*junbu*), which is used as a spice in India, marmot
skins, and silk. The bulk of the freight of the mule caravans was
wool—the special Sinkiang wool from the underbelly of the goat,
the wool that is used to make soft Kashmir scarves and shawls.
It was unsacked and piled in the sun before weighing, in order

Beyond the High Himalayas

000 of land on the north end of the basin. They were hard-riding horsemen on white ponies, and as they drew close I could hear the bells on one. They soon pulled up in front of us in a flurry of dust and took the initiative in conversation.

"Where do you go?" "Who is the white man?" "Is he American or British?" "What is he doing here?" As Rahul talked with these Tibetans I surveyed them. They wore tight-fitting coats that came down over their thighs. One wore a nondescript cap, the other a tall-crowned hat with a small, turned-down brim. They both wore ~~dark~~ glasses and carried revolvers on their hips. I shook hands with each of them, giving them the Tibetan salutation, "Ju Le, Ju Le"; and the older of the two smiled in return, showing prominent front teeth. Then they were gone, whirling their horses on a dime and racing with the wind toward Baralacha.

484 "What's their destination?" I asked Rahul. He had not been able to find out. They were on a fast journey to Lahul. The Indian-Tibetan border is mostly unsurveyed. Until August 1951, it had few security outposts. The people of southwest Tibet moved south into India freely and without restraint. Some went on commercial missions, taking caravans to Indian centers. Others moved ~~north~~ to Tibet in the summer and down to India in the fall, grazing sheep as they went. Others went on Buddhist pilgrimages to shrines in India. And many Indians went on pilgrimages to shrines in Tibet. The truth is that the Buddhist holy places in this area have no nationality; long custom and practice have made them common property to all Buddhists. People by the thousands have moved with ease across this border from time immemorial. The men I met at Serchu did not seem to be pilgrims. Perhaps they were traveling on a commercial mission and hurrying in order to return to Tibet before the Tibetan-Indian border was closed.

484 In early August 1951, that border was still open. The Dalai
648 Lama was still at Yatung on Tibet's southern border, negotiating with the representatives of the Red Chinese government. The

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174 foot. This made it very difficult for the Indians who wanted the gold to obtain it, and the only method found possible was to fetch the gold day by day when the ants slept, and bear it away on swift horses. Ants said to be of this wonderful species, were pointed out to Dr. Francke, but they must have considerably shrunk since the days of their fame, for they were now of normal size. But what sort of people inhabited the land in these ancient times? Doubtless, the first dwellers were Tibetan nomads, who wandered about on the immense upland plains of the Himalayas with their large flocks of sheep, goats, and yaks, moving on from pasture to pasture as they still do, so slowly does the East change.

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Even now one need go only as far as the Chantang, some ten marches from Leh, to see just the same picture as these far-off days presented. Still each family has its funny little black tent, woven of yak's hair, and with a large hole in the roof to let out the smoke, for the food is cooked on an open fire within. Two or three families settle down with their herds in one place until the grass is exhausted, when they move on to the next grazing ground. Abraham in his day must have lived similarly on a larger scale. These nomads were probably adherents of the old religion, called the "Bon Chos," from which arise the elements of demon-worship in the Lamaism of to-day. About this time Indian Buddhism was manifesting a keen missionary spirit, and sending out men to spread its doctrine and enlightenment far and wide. Among those some came to the Western Himalayas leaving traces of religion which had come up direct from India, not *via* Tibet. Thus on a medical tour to the neighbouring province of Zankskar, a village was found where almost every fourth man wore the yellow saffron robe of the down-country Buddhist priest.

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The descendants of these early missionaries called Mons are still plentiful in the land, yet they have remained quite distinct from the original inhabitants. If you want a door made, you must fetch the Mon carpenter. If you want to hear of the brave

Domesticities

III

child or perhaps by a mother with one or two children in her wake. A few houses are also scattered here and there among the fields, while in a larger village, many families have also a "country seat." This *yarsa*, or summer-place, usually consists of a small hut with a stable below, and a kitchen-room above, leading on to a balcony or flat roof. These may be on the outskirts of the village, or a mile or two up the valley behind. Anywhere on the hillsides, not too far distant from the rest of the community, where a spring or brook is available to water a small patch of cultivated land, these *yarsas* may be found, while in a large village such as Kalatse a considerable proportion of the population move in the summer away to the hills, taking their cattle with them to the so-called *brogs*.

Coming back to the village one often notices a little roofed balcony placed over the front-door, containing its three miniature *chortens*, coloured red, white and blue, with its demoniacal gods crudely painted on the wall behind. Near the house a young girl may be seen with a small stone in her hands pressing out the oil of apricot-kernels on a large flat boulder with a hole in the middle, into which the fluid runs. This oil is used for cooking purposes, for dressing the hair, and for burning in the little vessels before the altar. On the high road we have met in early summer donkeys and ponies loaded with sackfuls of these apricot kernels, proceeding down to Kashmir to sell them for the same purposes. They come from Baltistan, where the best apricots of this part of the world grow, and one can picture the inhabitants sitting out in the winter sunshine, when there is no field-work to occupy them, and cracking open the innumerable stones necessary to fill all these sacks with kernels. The seeds of a species of mustard plant are used for the same three purposes, though the mustard-oil is not so strong as that of the apricot.

In the house of the headman of the village, and in many of the better-class homes of the town, one room is dedicated as a little private chapel, used chiefly by the master of the house for reading his holy books and repeating his prayers.

101 **AGRICULTURAL METHODS IN LAHOUL, WES**

241 **90** The peasants in Western Tibet are in
231 the main agriculturalists, though on
the high plateaus of that country (14,000 to
16,000 feet above sea level), there are to be found
large tribes of nomads who follow a purely
pastoral occupation.

241 Whilst both men and women engage in field
462 work, it is the latter sex upon whom the burden
of farming really rests. The share of agricultural
pursuits which falls to the male sex consists of
building walls and repairing them, sowing,
ploughing, repairing watercourses, building corn
stacks, and assisting at the threshing operations.

[461] The women on the other hand are so fully
employed in the running of the farms that they
have little leisure for pilgrimages to sacred
shrines, or visits to far distant relations. The
men folk in Lahoul occupy their time during the
summer months in wool trading, and travelling
hither and thither with merchandise.

The farm duties of the female sex are the carry-
ing and spreading of manure on the fields in
spring and autumn, harrowing or beating the
clods of earth in the wake of the ploughmen,
making ridges in parallel or oblique lines over the
fields to render irrigation easier, placing stones,
sticking stones in the ground vertically for diverting
the water during the process of watering, weeding,
once, when the first blades of barley or wheat
appear above the ground, and again, when the ears
have formed, and it is easy to pluck out the long
weeds with the hands.

Irrigation, reaping, threshing, winnowing and
carrying in of the crops are performed by the
women, with occasional help from the men when
such are available.

[132] In Lahoul, where the snowfall in winter is heavy,
221 the time for beginning agricultural operations
varies slightly each year, though the middle of
241 April is usually the time when farm work is
contemplated.

The various occupations of the agriculturalist

● 221 TERN TIBET. *By Walter Asboe.*

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in Western Tibet, in the order in which they occur
from April until December are :—

1. Wall building and repairing breaches.
2. Cutting new watercourses, and repairs to old ones.
3. Planting of willow saplings.
4. Collecting of thorns for hedging fields.
5. Carrying out and spreading manure on fields.
6. Sowing and ploughing.
7. The ceremony of blessing the fields.
8. Beating straw for straw shoes : this done by the women.
9. Mud washing and general spring-cleaning of the houses.
10. Watering grass land.
11. Weeding with small hoe (*surmo*).
12. Irrigating the fields.
13. Beating straw for straw shoes (this, during a slack time).
14. Cutting the grass and storing it on house roofs.
15. Reaping the grain fields.
16. Building corn stacks.
17. Threshing.
18. Winnowing.
19. Carrying out and spreading manure on fields.
20. Collecting wood for the winter fuel.
21. Milling grain for the winter supply.

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From December until spring farming pursuits cease, owing to the heavy snowfall, and the population engages in village social functions, spinning and weaving of yarn for clothes.

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Lahoul being under British administration, the acquirement and disposal of land are regulated in accordance with Government rules. Similarly in Ladakh, another district of Western Tibet, the people are subject to the revenue regulations of the native State of Kashmir.

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Although in certain parts of Western Tibet the people do not engage in any agricultural enterprise

105 within these *khotis* are of three main kinds: the Thakur's personal prop-
 423 erty known as his *garphan*; fields cultivated by junior members of his
 631 family and by retainers and by farm servants; holdings granted to vil-
 lagers. The owners in the last two categories are not tenants but
 subordinate proprietors; they cannot be evicted, and have proprietary
 rights just as any other freeholder.

The Thakur's *garphan* is cultivated by *k'hang ch'hung pas*, that is
 farm servants, helped on special occasions by a concourse of land-
 holders. The whole produce goes to the *jagirdar* or landlord. Fields
 cultivated by junior family members (*do-hai*), by family retainers
 (*ch'hag-shi*) and by *k'hang ch'hung-pas* for themselves, are rent free.
 It is presumed that they pay for their holdings by the services which
 they render to the head of the family or to their master. In this category
 should be included land given out to blacksmiths (*gara-zhing* (*mGar-
 ba-zhing*)), musicians (*be-zhing*), astrologers (*onpo-zhing*), physicians
 (*man-zhing*), Buddhist monasteries (*gonpa* (*Gon-pa*)-*zhing*), Buddhist
 shrines (*lha-zhing*), and for the maintenance of irrigation canals (*yur-
 zhing*).

Holdings granted to villagers are called *jeolas* (allotments) as in the
 case of *khalsa khotis*, and the villagers to whom they are given are
 known as *yulpa*. These pieces of land are larger than the previous cate-
 gory, often reaching five acres and more. The owner is bound to pay
 [65] revenue (called *thal*) in exchange, and he used to be subject to forced
 [46] labour or *begar*, but this has been abolished now. There are a number
 of services he must render, such as serving the Thakur on certain har-
 vesting days, stabling his horses, carrying over the passes, bringing rice
 [65] for him from Kulu, etc. In lieu of these services, he often pays cash
 nowadays, thus converting payment in kind into tax money.

105 The Thakur of Kolong, as Wazir of Lahul, is responsible for collect-
 283 ing grazing fees or *tirni* (known in Tibetan as *ri-gi-thal*). He is entitled
 631 to keep one fourth of this money for himself, while paying the rest to
 651 the Government. Graziers are mainly Gaddi shepherds from Kulu and
 Chamba, and their sheep are used as pack animals for the transport
 of grain.

105 The Lahulis are great traders and only remain in Lahul long enough
 221 to cultivate their crops. In July, the men leave for Western Tibet to buy
 439 wool and *pashmina* (a fine variety of wool from which Kashmir wool is
 made) for cash. They send the goods back on the backs of their sheep,
 then return the animals for winter grazing in Tibet. In August, many
 men attend the fair at Patseo in the upper part of the valley, where they

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TIBETANS

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exchange local products for salt, borax and wool (including *pashmina*) with Tibetan traders. This merchandise they export to Kulu, again on the backs of their flocks, returning in the same way with grain for the winter. During November, the sheep are once again driven down to the lower Himalayan foothills, where they remain until the spring for pasturage. Many Lahulis find work of a menial kind in the plains during the winter months, especially in forestry. 105 221 439

The only time of the year when crops can be grown in Lahul is from May to November. The rest of the year, the snow lies thick on the ground and no cultivation is possible. The population of the country lives off only 5% of the total area, the rest being waste land unfit for agriculture. The water supply, in spite of the scanty rainfall, is made ample from glaciers and snow drifts, and the soil itself is extraordinarily fertile. The result is that crops are grown with amazing regularity and there has never been a famine in this part of India as long as anyone can remember. 105 241

The main food crops are barley, buckwheat and wheat – very much the same as they are in Tibet proper. Peas, potatoes, and grass to make hay for the cattle are also grown, and apple and plum trees produce a good harvest of fruit. Cash crops consist exclusively of *kut* or rusta (*Ru-s Ta*) (*Inula Helenium*), a leguminous plant the roots of which are used to make aromatic burning stocks or *joss-sticks*,¹ much in demand in Buddhist and other temples throughout countries of Chinese culture. [439]

The men in Lahul plough and sow grain. The women weed the fields and collect the harvest. The men then thresh the crops or tread them by foot and with animals, winnowing the grain and storing the latter for the winter in their houses. [462]

The domestic animals of Lahul are the *dzo* (a cross between a yak and a cow), sheep, goats, ponies and donkeys. There were no motorable roads at the time of my visit, but I understand that the Indian army is about to build a track passable for jeeps, which will enable them to reach Ladak from the south. 105 231 491

6. FIELD-WORK RESEARCH ON POLYANDRY IN LAHUL

If I have described the background of Lahul society at some length, it is because I believe this to have considerable bearing on the understanding of polyandry and on the reasons for its existence among the people of Tibetan affinity in the Himalayas. It is to be noticed that only those 595 795

¹ *Joss* = from the Portuguese *Dios*, God, hence "God-sticks".

142 Ladākhis, as before said, have a receding one; the Chāmpās,
181 again, have a more expressive mouth. They are a most
hardy and a most cheerful set of people. Living all their lives
in a severely cold climate, and getting a scanty subsistence, they
still have the best of spirits. When, after a day's journey, they
collect round the scanty fire that is warming their evening meal,
their merry laughter shows what a good heart they can keep in
what, to strangers, seem to be the hardest of circumstances.
● [221] Their lives are spent in tents; they stay for a month or two at
a time in one spot, to graze their flocks and herds, and then they
move with them whither the advancing season promises better
pasture. Some few details of their way of living will be given
when we come to describe the country itself which they frequent.

291 The dress of the Chāmpās is almost the same as that of the
Ladākhis, only that some of them wear the long wide coat of lamb-
skin, instead of woollen cloth.

582 As a rule, the Chāmpās and Ladākhis do not intermarry. The
563 religion of the two is the same, but it lies light on the Chāmpās.
162 Their young men do not become Lāmās. The number of these
Chāmpās within this territory is very small; there are hardly
more than a hundred families of them. Ethnologically they are
not different from those who inhabit the next tracts to the south-
east—country which is under the Government of Lhāsa.

COLONIES IN LADĀKH.

565 There are some families who come and go with the summer,
221 and a very few who have settled, of a race called *Khamba*. They
are of the country named Kham, far to the east of Lhāsa. By what
road they first came from their own country I know not, but now
they reach the districts of Zānskār and Rupshu from, strange to
say, the side of India. They are of Tibetan race, and their
language, though different from that of our Chāmpās, still can be
understood by them. The Khamba are professional beggars, of a
very vagrant disposition; they wander about some part of India
in the cold months, and find their way up here in the summer,
565 subsisting by begging. It is strange that they should come to such

from the ground, while the pent-up air itself becomes hot and gives no relief. But after a toilsome drag for some miles over this waste of heated rocks, he reaches one of the little villages that are made at the mouths of side ravines, if haply there can be found a few acres of flat ground for cultivation. These villages are to the traveller a most welcome and lovely sight; a space covered with crops of a brilliant green overshadowed by luxuriant fruit-trees in the midst of the barest rocks gives a relief equally to the eye, the mind, and the body of the wayfarer.

Garkon is the one of these villages most curious in its situation. It consists of very narrow strips or ledges of flat watered ground, between separate stages of a great river-cliff, so that on one side there is a precipitous fall of ground while on the other vertical cliffs overhanging the narrow fields, which, receiving their radiated heat, quickly ripen the crops; even at night the place does not lose its heat. Water is led over the fields from a ravine that comes from the high mountains. Apple-trees, apricot, mulberry, and the vine are cultivated, in company with the cereals, on the narrow space, and flourish well with the combination of moisture and warmth.

In going from *Garkon* to the next village, called *Dāh*, we have passed from *Baltistān* into *Ladākḥ*. The *Baltis* were in former times apt to make raids upon their more peaceable neighbours. *Dāh*, as the frontier village, protected itself by the agglomeration of its houses together to form a sort of fort; on two sides protection is given by a steep cliff, on two by a wall, with a good tower to guard the entrance to the enclosure. Now that all are under one government, and perfect peace has ensued, the dwellings are scattered; but still in winter time the people from the outlying houses and hamlets join to live within the enclosure, for warmth and for mirth's sake. Within its walls the ground is almost all roofed over, hardly any space is left for alleys, passages from one house to another are led beneath the rooms of a third; the whole is a strange crowding together of hovels.

In this part side valleys of various degrees of importance reach down to the *Indus*; some are mere rocky ravines, others hold hamlets and villages. I visited the *Hanā*

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LADAKH.

[CHAP. XIII.]

With the

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exception of the Lāmās, the people of the village¹ live on the rock in winter only; for summer they have other dwellings scattered about by their fields, but for warmth in winter they crowd to their old fortress. Here the buildings are crowded so close together, the space occupied is so completely roofed over—pathways and all—that when filled with human beings and with cattle it must indeed be warm.

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A great part of the rock on which Charāsa is built* is rounded, smoothed, and even polished. It is a *roche moutonnée*. On the smoothed surface there are in several places very distinct grooves or scratches which most clearly denote the movement over it of a glacier. The grooves are to be seen close down to the level of the alluvium and up for more than 100 feet above it. The very summit cannot be examined on account of the buildings; but I have no doubt that the ice of the glacier completely covered it and extended to an enormous thickness above, and at the same time occupied the whole width of the valley, a width, which both here and for some distance up, is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles. There is a slight difference in the direction of the scratches on the two sides of the rock. On the east side they are exactly with the run of the valley, namely, about north-north-west, while on the west they run north and south; this shows that the stream of the ice of the glacier separated, and part of it deviated a little, on coming to the obstruction of the rock.

This is by no means the only instance of ice-marks in the valley. A projecting rock about two miles above Charāsa is very distinctly polished and striated. Two rocks projecting out of the fan by the village of Kūri have the form that denotes ice-moulding; and behind that village we see the same phenomenon extending for 700 feet up the hill-side. On the left bank, at Panimik, are low isolated hills, about 200 feet high, surrounded by the alluvium; they are of a dark metamorphosed slate; everywhere, except at the broken and weathered parts, are they ice-moulded and striated. In one of these little hills is

* The rock is a hardened, altered, shale, graduating into a crystalline rock, which also I take to be metamorphic.

¹ [i.e., Charāsa, on the Nubra River.--ANALYST]

rise above 20,000 feet originate glaciers; there are small ones in the hollows of several such peaks; but there is no great snowy area. The surface of the hills is chiefly disintegrated rock, and the surface of the valleys is earth or gravel. Vegetation is extremely scant; here and there is some green by a spring or along the moistened bank of a stream, and on some hill-sides is a thin herbage. It is this herbage that is the support of the flocks and herds which sustain the small population of Rupshu. Cultivation is carried on in two places only, and to a very small extent, it is on their flocks that the people depend. [241] [231]

In the whole area of the district, which is about 4000 square miles in extent, there are but 500 souls.* These, as will have been understood, are Chāmpās; they are dwellers in tents, or, as the Persian phrase has it, "wearers of tents."† This small tribe, the Rupshu Chāmpās, have about 100 tents, one to a family; they are divided into two camps, which separate in summer, and frequent distinct pastures, but reunite in winter. They make about four moves during the year, with, I think, much regularity, though the time of these must vary if the season be unusually late or early; thus their stay at each encamping-ground is nearly three months on the average.

The tents are of a black hair-cloth, made from either yāks' or goats' hair. They are of a peculiar form; they are constructed in two pieces, which are not closely united, but put together so as to leave an opening of six inches all along the top; this allows the exit of smoke, while the fall of rain or snow is so small as to cause little inconvenience, or the space may be temporarily covered with a piece of carpeting. The space within the tents is enlarged by the hair-cloth being pulled out here and there by extra ropes, which are led over a forked stick and then pegged down. The tent is ornamented with little flags and with yāks' tails fastened to the poles. I have no measurement, but from memory should say that the tents are about 14 feet long, 10 feet wide, and nearly 6 feet high. In one of these lives a whole family.

* These people practise polyandry as the Ladākhis do; to this we must directly attribute their small numbers. The necessity felt for polyandry arose from the number of sheep, goats, &c., being limited by the winter feed.

† Khima-posh.

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before given show that there is about 100 feet of water between the island and the near shore. This little place, being ordinarily undisturbed by man, is a great resort of the gull, which in Ladākhi is called *Chagharatse*; the surface was nearly all covered with its droppings, and there were hundreds of the young about; most of these must have been hatched near the beginning of July. Having heard that it was a matter of interest with some ornithologists to learn about the nidification of the wild goose,* I was on the look out for information concerning it, and I found that this island is one of the places where it lays its eggs. I was told by the Chāmpās that they find the eggs there just before the ice breaks up—say the beginning of May, after that they have no means of reaching the island; I myself found there a broken egg, but at the time I was on the island (the last week in July) the young had all been hatched. A few days later I followed the same inquiry in the valley of the Salt Lake, and on an earthy island in the fresh-water lake called Panbuk I found a nest where the mother was sitting with some goslings and two eggs, one just breaking with the chick; the other egg I measured and found to be $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{4}$, and very nearly elliptical in form. The nest was a slight hollow, lined with, first, a few bits of a soft herb, then with feathers; I was told that these goose eggs are found also at the edge of the Salt Lake itself.

For man and his followings the banks of Tsomoriri are inhospitable. The bare rocky or earthy mountains and the stony plains afford little pasture for the flocks. Still the traveller finds patches of grazing ground just near enough for one to go from one to another in a day's march. Karzok, which is the headquarters of Rupshu, is situated near the shore of the lake. Here is a house and a monastery. The house belongs to the chief man of the district and of the tribe. The monastery is for about thirty-five Lāmās; the building of this under the difficult circumstances of the place, whither every bit of wood had to be carried from far, and the keeping up of it, is creditable to the Rupshu people. There are, besides, eight or ten small houses—mere hovels—where some old and sick remain when the camp has gone to the Indus Valley.

* The barred-goose; in Ladākhi, *sangpā*.

361 The summer encampment is not close to Karzok, but it is made two
221 or three miles up the side valley; at that distance up the ravine
widens out, and on a stony expanse, through which a stream
flowed watering a narrow green strip, were about fifty black tents
of the Chāmpās, and a few white ones of merchants from Kulū,
who had come to trade with them; this was the encampment of
that half of the Rupshu tribe which keeps to the south-eastern
pastures. The flocks were spread over the hills, seeking for the
scarce herbage.

241 Karzok is one of the two or three places in Rupshu where
there is cultivation; here some 12 acres are sown with naked
barley. Close upon 15,000 feet, it is the highest cultivation that
I know of. When I was there the crop was thriving, but in some
years it fails of ripening. The land is irrigated from the stream
of the side valley, that which made the delta before spoken of,
which is one of the chief affluents to the lake.

132 The climate of this part is thoroughly Tibetan. Snow falls in
winter, but not to a great depth. In summer the air is usually
clear and cloudless. The year I was at Tsomoriri, however, 1871,
was an exceptional one all over Ladākh, and rain fell in showers
such as had seldom been seen, accompanied by thunder. In these
storms we saw the mountains in colours different from those native
ones which the glaring sun had brought out so strongly. Before,
the lofty hills, except where whitened by a capping of snow, had
shown nothing but rocks and stony or earthy slopes of brown and
grey, the distant ones seeming close from the rarity and clearness
of the air. But now, with the clouds overhead and the storms
filling the valley, the recesses of the purpled mountains seemed
more distant; yet we saw deeper and deeper into them as the
various shades showed out the successive spurs and ridges, and the
water of the lake formed a bright belt in front of the richly-tinted
hills.

TSO KYAGHAR.

133* North of Karzok a high ridge of mountains edges Tsomoriri on
the west, having high cliffs in its upper part and sloping more

133⁺ tion of the origin of this lake, but I have turned over in my mind two or three hypotheses. The alluvium might at one time have filled the basin, which doubtless was originally but part of a valley tributary to that down which flows the stream; then, during some part of the glacial period, a glacier from the north-east may have scooped the hollow out of the gneiss and of the alluvium; thus the hollow would be a rock basin, counting the alluvium as part of the rock. Another theory is that at the time this tributary valley opened out to the larger one it was occupied by a glacier, and then the alluvium of the larger valley was deposited *against that glacier*; then, later, the ice disappearing left the hollow. The difficulty in the way of this is to know why no outlet was kept open by the water that must have flowed from the glacier. Altogether this little lake is about the most puzzling one I have met with.

INDUS VALLEY.

[361] East of Tsomoriri there is a part of Rupshu which I have never visited—the valley of Hanle. It seems from the accounts to be another of these flat, high-level, alluvium-filled valleys, bounded by mountains which soon rise up to a height of 4000 or 5000 feet or more above it. At Hanle, which is 14,276 feet high, is a monastery built on a rocky spur some hundred feet above the plain. Passing by this tract, of which I have no personal knowledge, let us go to the Indus Valley, which, in the highest part of it included in the Maharaja's dominions, forms a portion of Rupshu, and is periodically visited by the Rupshu tribe with their flocks.

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[312] From the south-east corner of the Salt Lake plain there leads a valley, which, followed up, brings one to an easy Pass, by name Folokonka, about 16,500 feet high, and beyond that one comes into the valley of Puga, a place where borax and sulphur are dug. The road from Tsomoriri, by the little lake Tso Kyāghar, also leads over a saddle of rock down into the Puga Valley, which, farther followed down, brings us in a few miles to the Indus River. The former of these two paths is the way taken by the Rupshu Chāmpās in the course of their migrations. The portion

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LADĀKH: THE HIGHER VALLEYS. [CHAP. XIV.

361 NOW AFTER PASSING over several miles of these stony tracts, we come to where there are two or three small villages, which are the highest in the Indus Valley. This bit of the valley is properly out of Rupshu, still it is traversed by the Chāmpās in going from one part of their district to another. The villages are three. On the left bank is Nidar, in a ravine that comes down from the south; it has three houses only. On the right bank are Nimū, of twelve houses, and Mad, of ten. Nimū is about 14,000 feet above the sea; it shows a tract of bright green at the edge of a great stony expanse; naked barley and peas are sown here, but only the former ripens. Of trees there are a few large willows of great age. I have two or three times noticed that in the villages near the upper limit of trees, where few grow, there are some of more than usual size; this probably is from more respect being paid to, more care taken of them; there is also a newly-made plantation of willows. At Nimū little snow falls, and what comes does not stay long on the plain; in winter the cattle and the flocks graze on the plain by the river, but are brought under cover at night. The people of Nimū are not Chāmpās, but are nearer the Ladākhīs both in look and language; they are, however, to some extent nomadic, since some of them take their flocks to other pastures in winter and live in tents while tending them. The village of Mad is in the next ravine to the east.

133* Leaving these last villages we follow up the valley of the Indus. It has widened to a plain, some four miles across, sandy at the outer portions, but covered with pasture about where the river flows through it. There are some small isolated rocky hills projecting up in the plain. This extends to where the river makes a sudden bend to the north-east.

Here we must pause to look more widely at the physical geography of the neighbourhood.

Cunningham, in his book on Ladākh, speaks of the "Kailas Range" as extending in one unbroken chain from the source of the Indus to the junction of the Shāyok, the name being taken from a peak on it near Mānsarāwar Lake (which is far to the south-east of the country we are dealing with), and he calls the great ridge behind Leh, between the Indus and the Shāyok, by

eight miles distant; a succession of spurs come down from it; 138^x
between them are hollows from which come out, at their base,
wide spreading fans. The hill-sides are completely bare of vegeta-
tion. On the slopes of the northern ridge, up to 2000 feet, blown
sand has accumulated, sand blown up from the river plain; this
sometimes lies in masses in the hollows, sometimes is spread on
the hill-sides in varying thicknesses, in places it has been washed
down again into the valleys on to the other débris. The different
colour of this sand from that of the rock gives a strange look to
the hills; it often reverses the usual light and shade, making the
hollows bright and leaving the projections dark.

I went about 20 miles farther, south-eastwards up the valley,
along the alluvial plain between the mountains. After that, as
I could see, the space between the mountains narrowed; in the
line of the valley there seemed to be an opening like a gate-
way; it is through this that goes the road into the Chinese terri-
tory; the river is deflected to the north-east, flowing in a narrow
space, but after another 20 miles up the two valleys or hollows
reunite.

Our farthest camp was at a place called Dora. This is where 361
the Châmpās of Rupshu spend the winter. Here are built some 221
low walled spaces for sheltering cattle at night; there were many 342
small hollows dug two feet deep in the ground with a course or two
of sun-dried brick above, these are made for the tents to be pitched
in them; at one end is a rude house built for the headman—low
walls washed over with a glittering micaceous mud and roofed in
with sticks covered with turf. When I was there, in August,
there was not a soul in the settlement.

At Dora falls
hardly any snow. This is why the place is chosen for winter
quarters, the sheep and the cattle being thus able to graze on the
extensive though thin pasture found on the flat. Close by is a
small shallow lake in the alluvium; it is about three-quarters of
a mile long and a furlong wide, of clear fresh water. Two or three
miles off are some little salt ponds in the alluvium; the water of
these tastes both salt and bitter.

About north-north-east
from Dora the northern mountain-ridge changes in point of compo-
sition from granite to a more or less altered shale; the line of it

133^x is continued more to the east than before, while in the line of its
361 original direction are some more hills which are joined to the
221 other ridge by a neck called on the Survey Map "Chang Pass";
this Pass is practically the boundary of Chinese Tibet in that
direction; in the Indus Valley the boundary will be a day or two's
march beyond Dora.

136 It is natural that the more favourable circumstances of this
part of the Indus Valley should encourage animal life to a greater
extent than is common in Rupshu. I saw here some small herds
of the Tibetan antelope, and the Tibetan hare is common here as
well as lower down towards Nimū and again towards Chushal; it
is a large hare, with much white, the back of a brownish grey.
But the animal one sees most of in these parts is the Kyang or wild-
ass—wild horse it has sometimes been called—an animal which is
met with singly or in twos and threes in many parts of Rupshu
(as, for instance, the Salt Lake plain) but here is in far greater
number than anywhere else. In a day's march I saw some
300 kyang, as many as 100 at one view. There were several
different herds; they all let us come to about 250 yards from them
and then trotted off, or if frightened by noise galloped away, often
leaving the low ground and taking to the stony slopes. This
animal is decidedly nearer the ass than the horse, but in outward
appearance is much more like a mule than either. He is like
a good mule such as one gets in the upper part of the Punjab,
about Rāwal Pindi.* The colour is brown, but white under the
belly; there is a dark stripe down the back, but no cross on the
shoulder. Of a full-grown male, a fine handsome animal, that I
shot in order to make closer observations, the following are some
measurements:

Height	54 inches (13 hands 2 in.)
Length of head (from point of muzzle to root of ear)	21½ "
Length of ear	9½ "
Fore hoof, length	5 "
" width	4 "
Hind hoof, length	4½ "
" width	3½ "

* Trebeck, Moorcroft's companion, wrote that the kyang is neither horse nor ass, that his shape is as much like one as the other.

135* moraine;* it is composed of blocks, some angular, some half-rounded, and stones, many of them rounded, chiefly of granite and gneiss, but also of white crystalline limestone, sandstone, and shale; there are many very large blocks, one (of gneiss) measured 27 feet by 20 by 9 as seen above the ground, probably there was more than as much again beneath, and there were several others of about the same dimensions. The height of the mounds is often 250 feet above the low parts of the flat where two streams are flowing, and very likely this is the thickness of the moraine-stuff at those places, but the average thickness over the area may be less. This moraine is evidently the deposit of a glacier that occupied not only that valley which still, as the map shows, holds a glacier of a considerable size, but also those branches which extend to the north-east; it very probably rose over the low spur behind Lukung; this is about 250 feet high, and nearly to the summit, quite up to 200 feet above the valley, *on the south side of it*, I observed transported blocks of granite, and the glacier may have entered, and even crossed, the valley of the Pāngkong Lake.†

[36] The last hamlet in this valley, the last in Ladākh in this direction, is Phobrang, some five miles above Lukung; it is 14,500 feet above the sea, there are one or two houses, occupied in summer for the sake of the cultivation of some naked barley on the alluvial flat, and deserted in winter for Lukung itself. A little higher up is Chagrā, 15,000 feet, a place of encampment, at some seasons, of a few families of Chāmpās. From Chagrā the road takes to an easterly branch of the valley and rises gradually, with hills on either side rounded in form and stony in surface. Thus we get to the Pass which is a little below the level of the hills on each side, though at some distance they rise nearly 2000 feet higher; they

* A good view of this is obtained from the spur behind the village of Lukung, over which a path goes, an alternative to the valley road.

† If the doubtful margin-marks 900 feet above the present lake (as described at p. 324 in a note) turn out to be real, I should be inclined to attribute the damming to such a great depth to this glacier, of whose existence and importance we have such good evidence.

are of a dark-brown colour, in form for the most part rounded; their whole surface is covered with loose stones, either taluses or else rock disintegrated into angular blocks, remaining as yet unmoved. On the farther side comes a stony valley similar to the one we have just left; down this we continue for a day and a half's march, going sometimes across taluses, sometimes along alluvial terraces, over stony ground, gradually descending till we reach the Chāngchenmo River itself. Here is a valley stretching straight east and west for far, the bottom of it a stony tract with the river flowing through it in many channels. In front of us, on the north side, is a bold line of mountains 5000 or 6000 feet above us, rocky in face, rising to a rugged ridge.

Below this spot where we first reach it (called both Pāmzāl and Tsolū) I have not followed the Chāngchenmo Valley; I believe it in that part to be a rapid stream flowing between narrowing rocky mountains. Above, the valley is partly occupied by the wide gravelly river-bed and partly by alluvial terraces, all stony and bare; the hills that bound this vary much in height and steepness, some are smooth-sided and comparatively low, others both lofty and steep. A branch from the main valley leads to the north, up to the plateaus that will be described in the next chapter; it contains a stream of as great volume as the other. Gogrā is a place where a rest-house has been built a few miles up that valley, soon above which it divides into Kugrāng, the westerly branch, and Chonglung, the north-easterly.

The places where the three requisites for travellers in these regions occur together, namely, water, grass, and fuel, are found several miles apart. One is Pāmzāl, already mentioned; here is some pasture, and, close by, a great supply of fuel in the bushy growth of myricaria (umbū) and of tamarisk on the alluvium. Then there is a stretch of over 12 miles before any more vegetation is met with. Then at Kyam, where some hot springs come out, there is a spread of grass extending some way up the valley, and there is brushwood also, and farther up, to the very head, there is grass to be found in places. Again, at Gogrā, in the side valley,

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22/ there is fuel and a little pasture. Thus scattered and scant is the
3 // vegetation; excepting these far-between patches the whole surface
133* is a waste of rock or stone. Still the vegetation, scarce though it
be, is enough to help on the traveller, and even to support the
following of one or two families of tent-dwellers who pass a portion
of the year in Chāngchenmo.